

Committee: Disarmament Committee

Issue: Regional Security and Nuclear Disarmament on the Korean Peninsula

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Introduction

North Korea's nuclear armament and the instability of East Asian security it caused are considered as the most important, urgent agenda of East Asian society. The Korean peninsula has been recognized as the important strategic point of East Asia. It traditionally was regarded as a security buffer zone between continent power (China, Russia) and maritime power (Japan, United States) and still having the spotlight of the world as the last bastion of the cold war and ideology fight. Studying this topic will be like accessing the most fundamental problem of the peninsula's numerous conflicts. As it gets most of the attention from South Korean mass media, there are various points of views on seeing the problem depending on their political ideology.

The North Korean nuclear crisis made a full-fledged appearance in 1993. North Korea was suffering from severe diplomatic threat in the late 1980s due to a series of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc. Also, the economic gap between South Korea was widening so that the North Korean military would have almost no possibility to win with conventional weapons if a war breaks. To make things worse, People's economic capacity and food production started to record the worst during the 90's, so the North Korean government severely needed a groundbreaking idea to overcome the crisis throughout the country, keeping their political regime safe.

Their selection is to develop nuclear weapons to balance the overwhelming power of the ally and strengthen their power of negotiation with the United States. A nuclear weapon is regarded as the most representative asymmetric power that no one could easily attack the country if once arranged even though the enemy has much stronger military power. For this reason, North Korea has been immersed in developing nuclear warheads and missile launch vehicle technology for decades trying to show that they can target not only South Korea but also American territory with their nukes. This idea has been continued regardless of international society's strong worries and economic sanctions of the UN and these days It seems like they've already completed their nuclear capacity.

Many specialists estimate that North Korea currently has 30-40 nuclear weapons and is still processing technical development. Not only the fissile material itself but also an efficient launch system such as solid fuel, which innovatively reduces the chance of surgical strike by shortening the fuel charging time. Moreover, the missile coming out from a submarine, SLBM, which is hardly detected, and technology that makes missiles scattered at terminal high altitude that disturbs the interception are still in progress.

The negotiations about solving this problem have a strong dilemma that each side seeks for different goals. While South Korea and the United States want an all-in-one deal to exchange nuclear abandonment and removal of sanctions making North Korea accept CVID (Complete, Verifiable, Irreversible Dismantlement) along with the inspection of IAEA. On the other hand, the North Korean government desires to achieve a guarantee of their regime from the United States which they first intended, so they push ahead with

corresponding measures exchanging phase-out of nuclear weapons and phase-out of sanctions so that they could widen their selections during the deal.

Definition of Key Terms

North Korea's Nuclear and Ballistic Missile Programme

North Korea has a military nuclear weapons program and, as of early 2020, is estimated to have an arsenal of approximately 30-40 nuclear weapons and sufficient production of fissile material for 6-7 nuclear weapons per year. North Korea has also stockpiled a significant quantity of chemical and biological weapons. In 2003, North Korea withdrew from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Since 2006, the country has been conducting a series of six nuclear tests at increasing levels of expertise, prompting the imposition of sanctions. Along with nuclear weapon production, North Koreans are developing launch vehicle systems that will carry their nukes to targeted spots, especially focused on American territories. Recent missile provocations toward East Sea and Japan are considered as part of this ICBM(InterContinental Ballistic Missile) programme.

CVID(Complete, Verifiable, Irreversible Dismantlement): “Complete, verifiable, irreversible dismantlement” was a keynote of the U.S/South Korean policy since George W. Bush administration in its dealings with North Korea over its nuclear program. As the CVID concept suggested, Bush would settle for nothing short of North Korea dismantling its program entirely so that it could never be reconstituted. North Korea, not surprisingly, never agreed to Bush's maximalist position.

IAEA(International Atomic Energy Agency) inspection: The International Atomic Energy Agency is an international organization that seeks to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and to inhibit its use for any military purpose, including nuclear weapons. It takes charge to inspect the target country on a regular basis to verify denuke. North Koreans are very skeptical of inspecting their sensitive military facilities.

Economic sanctions against North Korea: A number of countries and international bodies have imposed sanctions against North Korea. Currently, many sanctions are concerned with North Korea's nuclear weapons program and were imposed after its first nuclear test in 2006.

Statement of the Problem

The prevalent opinion which describes the origin of this problem says the dilemma traces back to 1958 when the deployment of America's tactical nukes was done in South Korea. The confrontation between both sides was very sharp as it was the time right after the war. The United States has proclaimed strong revenge against any kind of North Korean provocation and implied that they are even willing to use nuclear weapons to deal with the problem. Also, as the tension of the cold war got tight though the age and the US and USSR were competing harshly holding the future of mankind. People of the world realized the new era of war from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, powerful nations of the world desperately paid attention to developing nuclear weapons. With this background, North Korea's interest to develop nukes has arisen.

North Korea's desire had been controlled by the same communist bloc, China, and the Soviet Union before then. However, Pyongyang encountered a very unfavorable external, internal crisis overlapped since the 90's. and In 1994, North Korea announced its intent to withdraw from the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), which requires non-nuclear weapon states to forswear the development and acquisition of nuclear weapons, the United States and North Korea signed the Agreed Framework. Under this agreement, Pyongyang committed to freezing its illicit plutonium weapons program in exchange for aid. Following the collapse of this agreement in 2002, North Korea claimed that it had withdrawn from the NPT in January 2003 and once again began operating its nuclear facilities.

The Six-Party Talks, which began in August 2003 and included China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, and the United States, were the second major diplomatic initiative. In 2005, when North Korea promised to drop "all nuclear weapons and current nuclear programs" and return to the NPT, and in 2007, when the parties agreed on a series of measures to enact the 2005 deal, those talks reached crucial breakthroughs. Those negotiations, however, broke down in 2009 due to disputes over verification and a North Korean rocket launch that was condemned internationally. Pyongyang has since announced that it will never return to the talks and that the agreements are no longer binding on it. The other five parties say they're still committed to the talks and want Pyongyang to stick to its 2005 promise of denuclearization.

In January 2018, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un announced that the country's nuclear arsenal was "full" and offered to negotiate North Korea's participation in the South Korean Olympics with Seoul. Kim Jong Un's sister was among the North Korean delegation at the Olympics, and she met with South Korean President Moon Jae-in. The meeting sparked a sustained inter-Korean dialogue, culminating in a meeting on April 27 between Kim Jong Un and Moon Jae-in, which resulted in a declaration referencing the mutual aim of denuclearizing the Korean peninsula. Kim Jong Un expressed interest in meeting with US President Donald Trump during a high-level meeting with South Korean officials in Pyongyang in March. Trump accepted the offer, and the two leaders met in Singapore on June 12 for the first time.

Since then, the debate over a nuclear agreement with North Korea has heated up. However, this attempt often fails due to incompatible demands and a reversal of interest on the part of the two countries. Before making any compromises, Washington demanded that Pyongyang immediately surrender its entire nuclear arms program. Despite initial rumors that the US was prepared to move negotiations forward by requesting a partial moratorium on fissile material processing, it instead went after the entire program—old and new—in one fell swoop. Pyongyang, predictably, refused, demanding that the US lift almost all sanctions before discussing any more "denuclearization measures." The US deemed that too heavy a price to pay for anything short of Pyongyang's complete unilateral disarmament, and the talks broke down. In the months after the landmark first summit between US President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un in Singapore, the chasm between US and North Korean demands—not to mention a lack of consensus about what words like "denuclearization" or "corresponding steps" actually meant—had been deftly papered over. However, the bill was eventually due in Hanoi.

Timeline of Key Events

Date	Event
12 Dec. 1985	<p>North Korea signs the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) This was an international treaty signed to promote nuclear non-proliferation, to promote the peaceful usage of nuclear energy, and achieving nuclear disarmament through cooperation.</p>
30 Jan. 1992	<p>North Korea signs an IEAE safeguards agreement This was a framework for all parties that they must recognize that effective verification is absolutely essential to the credibility, and therefore the sustainability, of any negotiating process for North Korea's denuclearization.</p>
9 Feb. 1993	<p>IEAE demands special inspections of two sites IEAE request is based upon strong evidence that North Korea has been cheating on its commitments under the NPT. North Korea refuses the IAEA's request.</p>
12 Mar. 1993	<p>The DPRK intends to withdraw from the NPT In three months, North Korea announces its intention to withdraw from the NPT by referring to Article X provisions which enable the withdrawal for supreme national security considerations.</p>
21 Oct. 1994	<p>USA-DPRK Agreed Framework The United States and North Korea conclude four months of negotiations by adopting the "Agreement Framework" in Geneva.</p>
10 Jan. 2003	<p>DPRK withdraws from the NPT North Korea withdraws from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and declares it has nuclear weapons in the following April of that year.</p>
27-29 Aug. 2003	<p>1st Round of Six-Party Talks North Korea proposes the United States to conclude a "non-aggression treaty" and that it keeps the promises under the Agreed Framework.</p>
6 Oct. 2006	<p>North Korea conducts its first nuclear test North Korea launched its first nuclear missile claiming their success.</p>
14 Oct. 2006	<p>UNSC Resolution 1718 The United Nations adopted Resolution 1718 which enforced economic sanctions on North Korea and demanded that North Korea refrain from further nuclear tests.</p>
25 May. 2009	<p>North Korea conducts second nuclear test North Korea launches its second nuclear test. The United Nations Security Council condemned the action and passed several sanctions months following the incident.</p>

12 Jun. 2009	UNSC Resolution 1874 Resolution expands sanctions against Pyongyang. It also stated the inspection regime to prevent proliferation to and from North Korea, calls for enhanced financial restrictions against North Korea.
12 Feb. 2013	3rd Nuclear Test of the DPRK North Korea launches its third nuclear test.
7 Mar. 2013	UNSC Resolution 2094 This resolution affirms the existing sanctions by expanding the scope of materials covered and adds additional financial sanctions.
6 Jan. 2016	4th Nuclear Test of the DPRK North Korea officials claim they have successfully detonated a hydrogen bomb.
2 Mar. 2016	UNSC Resolution 2270 The resolution condemned the nuclear test and launch of early 2016, and demanded that North Korea not conduct further tests and immediately suspend all activities related to its ballistic missile program.
5 Jul. 2017	North Korea conducts its first successful ICBM test North Korea alleges that it has carried out its first successful launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile.
3 Sept. 2017	DPRK's Sixth nuclear test causes seismic event Seismic activity indicates that North Korea did conduct its largest nuclear test. The seismic event's magnitude was around 5.8.
11 Sept. 2017	UNSCR Resolution 2375 Imposed additional sanctions on North Korea, including a ban on textile exports and a cap on refined petroleum product imports.
27 Apr. 2018	North and South Korean leaders meet Both leaders meet at the border of North and South Korea in the first high-level summit where both issue a joint declaration
12 Jun. 2018	U.S. President Trump meets with Kim Jong Un They meet at singapore sign a joint declaration agreeing to "establish new US-DPRK relations in their first summit
20 Jun 2019	Donald Trump meets with Kim Jong Un at the DMZ The leaders agree to resume negotiations

Evaluation of Past UN and International Actions

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT): In 1968, the NPT was signed with 189 signatory countries which included the Big Five. The DPRK also signed the NPT, but later absconded. The treaty emphasizes three concepts which are non-proliferation which states that "signatory nations will take measures to prevent and

stop the spread of nuclear weapons and technology from parties that have nuclear capabilities to parties that do not". The second is disarmament, the success of the NPT can be recognized as countries which possess nuclear technology and nuclear weapons are disarming themselves. The last is peaceful use of nuclear energy. Under sovereign rights, countries are allowed to pursue peaceful nuclear technology.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA): It is an autonomous organization which conducts regular inspections of nuclear facilities of signatory states to guarantee compliance with the NPT. It was going to investigate the DPRK, however they exited the NPT.

Six Party Talks: First formal multilateral dialogue which was established in 2003 with the objective of halting the progress of the North Korean nuclear program. Council on Foreign Relations states that "The disjointed process has been hindered over the years by North Korea's repeated missile tests and other provocations. Progress reached a stalemate when Pyongyang walked out of negotiations in 2009 and, a year later, revealed a vast new uranium enrichment facility to visiting U.S. scientists."

In 1973, the United States and the Soviet Union began the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) which led to a Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which limited each party to 100 anti-ballistic missiles and two anti-ballistic missile production facilities.

In 1993, the Strategic Arms Reduction continued on the foundation that SALT built. Yet again it was another bilateral agreement between Russia and the United States. The treaty emphasized the d limits on the number of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, or MIRVs (missiles capable of releasing multiple warheads).

In 1996, , the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was adopted by the UN General Assembly. It strengthened the NPT by "prohibiting the development and testing of nuclear weapons, in any environment, for either military or civilian purposes".

United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/1540 (2004): All member nations to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction by any means necessary. Deter members and non-member nations from proliferation nuclear materials or using nuclear weapons

United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/1718 (14.10.2006): Demanded that North Korea refrain from further nuclear tests and calls on Pyongyang to return to the six party talks and abandon its nuclear weapons. It imposed sanctions on commerce with Pyongyang.

United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/1874 (12.06.2009): Strengthening the inspection regime to "prevent proliferation to and from North Korea, calls for enhanced financial restrictions against North Korea and North Korean firms, a nearly comprehensive arms embargo on the country, and strengthened council oversight over the implementation of the resolution".

United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/2094 (07.03.2013): Strengthening existing sanctions by expanding the scope of materials covered and adds additional financial sanctions, including blocking bulk cash transfers.

United Nations Security Council Resolution S/RES/2270 (02.03.2016): Condemning the nuclear test and launch of early 2016, and demanding that North Korea not conduct further tests and immediately suspend all activities related to its ballistic missile program. A requirement that UN member states inspect all cargo in transit to or from North Korea for illicit goods and arms.

South and North Korea Summit: Kim becomes the first North Korea leader to cross the border south for a summit. With South Korea's Moon Jae-in, the two pledge to convert the armistice that ended the hostilities of the Korean War into a formal peace treaty. They also confirmed the shared goal of achieving a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula.

First U.S. and North Korea Summit: Kim and Trump held a historic meeting in Singapore where they signed a joint statement pledging to pursue lasting peace and complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

Major Parties Involved and Their Views

North Korea: As can be seen from the intention of nuclear development, the North Korean government wants the Western world to guarantee their regime safe from outer invasion or internal collapse as the priority. Plus, improving their recessed, left-behind economy with minimum political risk is what they desire for. However, they structurally would not be able to carry out CVID that the Western world wants them to do because of internal opposition (military hardliners in particular) and the absence of clear proof that certifies Americans would not attack them first.

However, North Koreans are still suffering from severe economic damage since the activation of International society's sanctions, and global lockdown during this pandemic may have made the situation even worse. The world is paying keen attention to whether Pyongyang would choose to give up their line to escape from poverty or they keep trying to move toward isolationism but having a strong military leverage against the world.

United States: The United States has taken a carrot and stick approach to respond to the proliferation challenges posed by North Korea. It includes military cooperation with U.S. allies in the region, wide-ranging sanctions, and non-proliferation mechanisms such as export controls. Also, America once sought to resolve the issue actively through top-down dialogue during the Trump administration.

The United States views the nuke problem from a multinational perspective. Exercising successful leverage in the Korean peninsula would give them an advantageous position in the relationship with China. Furthermore, dealing with a hostile state like North Korea would affect other threatening countries against America in the Middle East or Africa. If the US fails their denuclearization and leaves the situation as it is, other hostile countries would refer to it as a good precedent that they also could develop nuclear weapons while enduring temporary sanctions and become the nuclear haves. The United States as a superpower would never want this to happen.

Even though America's intensified attention to Korea, a strong dilemma which derived from the difference of purpose, specific procedure, NK's sincerity toward denuclearization makes a long way to go.

South Korea: South Koreans mostly think that North's aggressive nuclear policy is the worst factor obstructing the peace of the peninsula. As the military tension gets high, South Koreans need to pay enormous military costs to respond. And also severe hostility of people against the North would make the long-historied conflict irreversible.

Therefore, For South Korea, solving this problem is the question of whether to remain a middle power of Asia or become a global power influencer. South Korea has paid a lot of economic and social costs to deal with the division and check the hostile forces in the north North Korea's nuke development and aggressive policy toward South will worsen the problem and uncertainty. Even under these unfavorable conditions, or maybe due to utilizing the adversarial dependence of the cold war, the southern part of the peninsula accomplished economic prosperity in a short time. However, they are now encountering a long period of recession and evaluated that It used up all the potential for further growth.

In this situation, closing hostilities, settling peace without nukes, and carrying out economic cooperation with the North will be the beginning of revolutionary growth and South Korea will be the biggest beneficiary. Not only saving economic costs for maintaining military tension and foreigner's stable investments but also social costs such as the alleviation of political ideology conflict, and hopefully, young men who are in their most energetic age would not have to burden mandatory military service which is huge damage to both society and for individuals. Also, a large scale of economic cooperation and growth always create workplaces for young people, so it could solve the severe unemployment problem of South Korean society. And these good effects will be permanently inherited to Korean people when the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas is achieved.

China: China is the most important performer in resolving the North Korean nuclear issue. It has exerted the most powerful influence on North Korea both economically and politically. China also wants the North Korean regime's unexpected behavior to disappear, but it basically has an interest in the survival of the regime which works as a good buffer zone between their own country and US/ allies. For this reason, China has implicitly supported Pyongyang's regime and violated U.N. economic sanctions, even though they themselves are one of the permanent members of the United Nations security council.

As China is starting an explicit political/economic competition with the United States, For them, North Korean nukes will be an important leverage in the US-China conflict. In this context, China will want to maintain the status quo rather than a rapid change of the situation, and it seems difficult to achieve denuclearization by moving the Chinese government which has an important key.

Japan: Liberal democratic party, which is Japan's current ruling party seeks to transform the country into an ordinary state with formal military power and active national security through the revision of the peace constitution. Therefore, consistent, occasional threats of North Korea against Japan and external anxiety of the Japanese people will paradoxically strengthen the present government's political legitimacy.

Japan does not have a direct, actual influence on the Korean problem, so it generally follows America's North Korean policy. However, As explained earlier, the Japanese government needs an amount of security instability to gain people's support, so they will prefer the status quo for a different reason from China.

Russia: Russia is one of the biggest opponents of the United States along with China, they have a long tradition of confrontation against the Western world. Even though they have most of their national interest in the European part of the country, they recently started to focus on the East Asian market along with developing their vast resources of Siberia. Therefore, Russia is having a flexible posture to North Korean nuke problem as it both needs maintaining status quo for a political reason but also wants a good relationship and stable surrounding of East Asia for economic reasons.

What It affects to East Asian security

North Korea's military proliferation and development of mass destruction weapons intensifies the new cold war happening in East Asia. As they were traditional ally of communist bloc, and due to their tight relationship with China and hostile attitude toward the US, the North Korea problem became another conflict point between China and the United States. While China and Russia keep trying to lever North Korea to oppose the US, the Americans and Japanese are enhancing the military strength of this region to defend their national interest and this vicious circle increases the security dilemma of East Asia.

What will it cause to global security

As mentioned above, the first world's dealing with North Korean nukes will be a great milestone that would test their leverage for rogue nations who break war and terror to enforce their strength. If they fail to control their aggressive attitude and submit their enhanced military status, other hostile states will follow a precedent of North Korea. That would be a great challenge of the world's existing order as mass destructive weapons, especially nukes make it very difficult for powerful nations to engage in military action toward their countries.

Questions a Resolution Must Answer

Q: Should economic sanctions be removed, maintained or even strengthened? Specific procedures and reasonable evidence need to be provided.

Q: How must the current sanctions regime be updated or modified to compel North Korea to comply with UN demands?

Q: How can various non-vindictive confidence building measures be leveraged in order for North Korea to be brought to negotiate?

Q: How can the situation be de-escalated in the short term?

Q: What is an effective way to implement non-proliferation to stop North Korea from developing nuclear weapons with the conflicting interests of China and the United States?

Q: What is the best option for negotiations for the future? Should previous frameworks, such as the Six Party Framework be resurrected, or is a new negotiating framework required?

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